## Message Text

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:TF/A TAGS: OAU, XA

SUBJECT: OAU DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 1039 AND PREVIOUS

1. SUMMARY: SPECIAL SESSION OF OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ENDED APRIL 11 AFTER ADOPTING DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND TWO RESOLUTIONS WHICH (ON BASIS OF PARTIAL TEXTS SO FAR AVAILABLE) ENDORSE CONTINUED SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, WITHOUT ABANDONING PREPARATIONS FOR RENEWED ARMED CONFLICT, AND CALL FOR NEW AND MORE EFFECTIVE AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AIMED AT ISOLATING SOUTH AFRICA. RHODESIAN ANC LEADER SAYS J C STILL PREPARED ENGAGE IN CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITH SMITH IF LUSAKA AGREEMENT TERMS COMPLIED WITH.

THUS "LUSAKA MANIFESTO-MOGADISCIO DECLARATION" GROUP OF AFRICAN STATES THAT FAVOR NEGOTIATION OVER VIOLENCE IF POSSIBLE HAVE CARRIED THE DAY AGAINST THE RADICAL MILITANTS. STRESS ON NEW SANCTIONS TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA, HOWEVER, IS NEW THRUST BY MODERATES. FND SUMMARY

2. NINTH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WOUND UP ITS WORK EARLY HOURS OF APRIL 11, AFTER UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTING A "DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA" AND TWO RESOLUTIONS ON OAU POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICAN, RHODESIAN, AND NAMIBIAN QUESTIONS. FULL TEXTS NOT YET AVAILABLE AND MAY ONLY BE RELEASED LATER ON FROM OAU HEADQUARTERS IN ADDIS ABABA. THUS FOLLOWING ANALYSIS, BASED ON DRAFTS RELEASED TO TANZANIAN AND SOME OTHER NEWSMEN, IS PRELIMINARY IN NATURE.

3. DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION IS INTENDED AS REEXAMINA-TION OF AFRICAN STRATEGY IN LIGHT OF CHANGED CON-DITIONS CAUSED BY GRANT BY NEW PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT OF INDEPENDENCE TO AFRICAN COLONIES. THESE PORTU-GUESE ACTIONS HAVE LED SOUTH AFRICA TO REVIEW ITS POLICIES TOWARDS RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND SEEK NEW WAYS OF BREAKING BARRIERS OF INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION. ON RHODESIA, DECLARATION OFFERS AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION ON BASIS MAJORITY RULE SO LONG AS ANC CONVINCED THAT THIS IS POSSIBLE. WHILE AT SAME TIME PREPARING FOR INTENSIFIED WAR SHOULD PEACEFUL SOLUTION PROVE IMPOSSIBLE. ON NAMBIA, DECLARATION SAYS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA BY SOUTH AFRICANS MUST BE FOUGHT BY AFRICA WHICH SHOULD FULFILL STRICTLY ITS OBLIGATION TO ABSTAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHICH MAY BE CONSTRUED AS RECOGNITION OR ACCEPTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RIGHT TO BE IN THE COUNTRY. ON SOUTH AFRICA, DECLARATION REJECTS ANY THOUGHT OF DETENTE WITH APARTHEID REGIME, AND SAYS THAT DESPITE VORSTER'S PROMISE OF CHANGE WITHIN SIX LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MONTHS CONDITIONS HAVE IN FACT GOTTEN WORSE. THERE IS THEREFORE NO REASON FOR A CHANGE IN AFRICAN POLICY, "NOR IS THERE ANYTHING FOR FREE AFRICA TO TALK ABOUT TO THE LEADERS OF THE APARTHEID REGIME IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA". IF VORSTER WANTS TO TALK, HE SHOULD "RELEASE FREEDOM FIGHTERS LIKE NELSON MANDELA AND MANGALISO SOBUKWE" AND TALK TO THEM. INSTEAD, AFRICAN AND WORLD BOYCOTT AND ISO-

LATION OF SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AND STRENGTHENED.

4. RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA CALLS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SPECIAL OAU COMMITTEE TO (A) IDENTIFY RHODESIAN SANCTION BREAKERS; (B) IDENTIFY INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES TRADING WITH BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND "FREE AFRICA"; (C) ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH AND SUPPORT ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANIZATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES: AND (D) ENSURE OBSERVANCE OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. RESOLUTION ALSO CALLS FOR (A) CONTINUED OIL EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AND DENIAL OF AFRICAN PORT FACILITIES TO SOUTH AFRICAN TANKER FLEET INCLUDING CHARTERS; (UB) DENIAL OF AFRICAN FACILITIES TO NAVAL VESSELS AND AIRCRAFT DEPARTING FROM SOUTH AFRICA, AND PROHIBITION OF VISITS BY SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISTS; (C) UN PROHIBITION OF ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA; (D) INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA: (E) REJECTION OF BANTUSTANS, AND (F) ENCOURAGEMENT OF BORDER STATES TO CUT OFF SUPPLY OF MIGRANT LABOR TO SOUTH AFRICA, WITH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

5. RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA CALLS FOR CREATION OF SPECIAL OAU COMMITTEE ON NAMIBIA, CHAIRED BY OAU ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL AND COMPOSED OF AFRICAN MEMBERS OF UN COUNCIL OF NAMIBIA, TO HANDLE ALL NAMIBIAN MATTERS AND IF NEED BY FACILITATE CONTACT WITH SOUTH AFRICA, IN CONSULTATION WITH SWAPO, IF SOUTH AFRICA RECOGNIZES NAMIBIA'S RIGHT TO UNITARY INDEPENDENCE UNDER SWAPO LEADERSHIP. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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6. RESOLUTIONS AND DECLARATION WERE PREPARED BY DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF 17 UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP GABON, COMPOSED OF TANZANIA, GHANA, GUINEA, ZAIRE, KENYA, LESOTHO, SENEGAL, ALGERIA, CAMEROUN, TUNISIA, LIBERIA, ZAMBIA, SOUTH AFRICAN ANC AND PAC, RHODESIAN ANC, AND FRELIMO. SOUTH AFRICAN ANC SECRETARY GENERAL, ALFRED NZO, TOLD VOA CORRESPONDENT WILLIAMS APRIL 10 THAT ANC WOULD PREFER SIMULTANEOUS ASSAULT ON SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, AND RHODESIA, BUT WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT TANZANIAN-ZAMBIAN PLAN OF GIVING LATTER TWO COUNTRIES PRIORITY IF THAT WAS WHAT AFRICAN STATES WANTED.

7. BISHOP MUZOREWA, LEADER OF RHODESIAN ANC DELE-

GATION, TOLD COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APRIL 10 THAT ANC STILL PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS WITH SMITH REPIGE PROVIDED THAT LATTER FULFILLED ALL CONDITIONS OF LUSAKA AGREEMENT INCLUDING RELEASE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES, HALTING OF POLITICAL TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS, AND REMOVAL OF RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL INSIDE RHODESIA BY AFRICAN LEADERS. HE REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT ANC OBJECTIVE REMAINED IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE AND THIS NOT NEGOTIABLE. ". . . WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DISCUSS IS THE MECHANICS OF TRANSFER OF EFFECTIVE POLITICAL POWER FROM A WHITE MINORITY TO THE BLACK MAJORITY". HE CALLED FOR AID FROM ALL OAU MEMBERS, BOTH IN PREPARING FOR ARMED STRUGGLE ANAF IN MAINTAINING UNITY OF ANC: "LET NO MAN OR GROUP OF MEN PUT THAT UNITY ASUNDER." TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT ON APRIL 10 FORMALLY TURNED OVER A DAR ES SALAAM APARTMENT TO MUZOREWA FOR USE AS ANC OFFICES HERE, AND ANNOUNCED THAT ZAPU AND ZANU OFFICES WILL BE CLOSED AND ORGANIZATIONS LEGALLY BANNED.

8. FOLLOWING CLOSE OF OAU MEETING, MOST DELEGATIONS HURRIED HOME. HOWEVER, OAU COMMITTEE OF AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION IS BEGINNING TWO DAY MEETING HERE, UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP TANZANIA, AND LIBYAN DELEGATION TO OAU MEETING IS STAYING ON FOR A ONE-WEEK OFFICIAL VISIT. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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9. COMMENT: TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND THE OTHER PROPONENTS OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA (THE "LUSAKA MANIFESTO-MOGADISCIO DECLARATION" GROUP) THUS GAINED THE OAU ENDORSEMENT THEY WANTED, AND THIS MAY BE PRINCIPAL RESULT OF MEETING. THE RADICAL MILITANTS PUT UP MORE OPPOSITION THAT EXPECTED BUT THEY WERE AT LENGTH OVERCOME. ESTABLISHMENT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON NAMIBIA PROVIDES NEW ORGAN WHICH COULD SERVE USEFUL ROLE IN A PEACEFUL NAMIBIAN SETTLE-MENL, IF SOUTH AFRICA WILLING TO TALK BUT NOT YET PREPARED TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH SWAPO. ON SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, "THE NEW POLICY" SEEMS LESS CLEAR. CERTAINLY, EFFORTS AT ISOLATING SOUTH AFRICA ARE TO BE STEPPED UP, THOUGH HOW SIGNIFICANTLY WILL DEPEND ON PRECISE TEXT OF RESOLUTION, ITS INTERPRETATION, AND ESPECIALLY THE WILLINGNESS OF OAU MEMBERS TO IMPLEMENT IT. BUT, ASIDE FROM REJQTING NOTION ODSA DIALOGUE ABOUT APARTHEID, THE DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS GIVE FEW HINTS OF HOW AFRICA WILL CONFRONT SOUTH AFRICA PROPER WHEN AND IF NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN RESOLVED. **CARTER** 

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